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621 578 Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during war, indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

Uninhabited Islands

361 [772] [766] Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaki.

[773] [778] Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[3] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[3]A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

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have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities. Private establishments consisted of a large sleeping house on a stone platform, a cook house near-by, a sacred house for old men, a house for storing food, and in the near vicinity a sacred place. The chief's establishment was the community center. It included his sleeping house, which was larger and more elaborate than most private dwellings and was built on a stone platform; his cook house, storage house, the dwellings of his attendants on stone platforms; a warriors' house, also on a stone platform; a paved dance area, on which were sometimes special houses for canoes, for the preparation of feasts, or the like, with surrounding platforms for spectators, on which were erected temporary structures at the times of rites and festivals; ovens; a temple, which was usually associated with this feast place and with the chief's establishment; and a *vai ke'etu,* an enclosed, fresh-water basin made of cut, red stone slabs, reserved as the sacred bathing place of the chief's eldest son. In secluded and usually elevated locations there were other sacred places *(me'ae),* which also belonged to the chief and served for tribal ceremonial and burial. These consisted of platforms, houses, and images. A feature of many such sacred places is a great banyan tree. Another type of sacred place, which belonged to the tribe as a whole, was that consecrated to the female spirits called *fanaua,* which were supposed to kill pregnant women. These places sometimes consisted of a simple platform, or simply of a single stone, or might not be distinguished by any structure or mark. Lastly there were the sacred places where fishermen stayed at the times of their labor and where the canoes and nets and sacred appurtenances of the fishing craft were kept. These were sacred or restricted areas near the sea, within which were houses for the fishermen, for the canoes, for the nets, and for the rites of the fishermen. In some places, but not everywhere, platforms were associated with these sacred areas.

Every tribe, then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal god, who seems to have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time. Every tribe had at least one *me'ae,* or temple, and at least one *tohua,* or feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as head of the tribe. In determining the political activity of the tribe in relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as influential as the chief. The larger of the tribes appear also to have had almost always a sacred place consecrated to the work of the fishermen of the tribe. The land on which the tribe lived was regarded as the property of the chief as political head of the group. The chief referred to all the people of his tribe as *hua'a,* the same word as is used for blood and adop-

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place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

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used for bowls or mortars. Wood and coconut shell vessels were carved with the types of design shown in the accompanying sketches (fig. 9, *b* and *c*.) Drinking cups for water and kava were of coconut shell. Small food bowls were called generically *ipu* or *kipu*, different sizes and forms having many specific names. Large quantities of *popoi* for feasts were put in very large round bowls (*toto*) (fig. 10, *a*) of *temanu* wood, some of them four feet in diameter, or in long, canoe-shaped troughs. Between the very large bowls and the small ones, there ranged all sizes. Knoblike handles, carved from human bone or made of a large smooth nut, were attached to the sides of the bowls with sennit cords passed through holes in the bowl (fig. 10, *b*). For kava there were two types of containers (*tahaha, tanoa,* or *kotue)* used, one like an elongated scoop with a pointed end from which the *kava* was poured (fig. 10, *c*), the other roughly copying the form of a bird and having a lid. (See fig. 10, *d*.) Small containers (*hue*) with covers *(tifa)* were made of large coconut shells and gourds *(hue mao'i)* and suspended on the beams of the house by means of small nets woven around the body of the vessel (fig. 10, *e*). Water was kept in large gourds *(hue)* or large bamboos *(kohe),* the joints of which, with the exception of the one at the bottom, had been rammed through on the inside. Graters for coconut *(feke)* were made by lashing to a stick supported on legs, a piece of pearl shell, one edge of which was chipped or filed into small saw-teeth (fig. 10, *f*). Another type of grater (*iku*), made of the tail of the ray fish, was used for grating amomum root *(ena)*. According to Mr. Linton, sharks' fins were also used for graters. Strips of bamboo, sharks' teeth, and shells were used for knives *(kohe)*. Besides these implements and utensils used in connection with cooking and eating, small nets, fishing rods, and the like were hung under the roof and on the beams and posts of the cook house. A pointed stick *(ko),* set in the ground, served to husk coconuts.

The Sacred Place

The family sacred place was either a small *tapu* enclosure or a small, high platform (the *taha tupapa'u)* in which or on which temporary houses and shrines or altars were erected in connection with birth and death ceremonial. These were always in close proximity to the sleeping house, and hence were an integral part of the establishment. On Hiva Oa, there was a shed on a small but high, stone platform *(taha tupapa'u),* but on Nuku Hiva the enclosed place with a temporary shed appears to have been common. At times of ritual, such as the treatment of a dead body, or the erection of the temporary altars in honor of children, these temporary sheds were decorated with cloth as a sign of *tapu*. Images were

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a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows:

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approcahed only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)*—a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking.

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free.

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8).

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia*. *Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman.

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1764 describes seeing a whole body wrapped in tapa and suspended from the side of a house. He says:

> It was enveloped in immense folds of *tappa* with only the face exposed, and hung erect against the side of the dwelling.

At other times the bones were wrapped in cloth or a mat and placed in a coffin, over which was put a sheet of cloth or a rough mat of fau bark. Some of these coffins were open on top, and others had lids. They were put in a cave, or in a banyan tree, or were slung up under the roof of a special house constructed for the purpose in the sacred place, or suspended from the ridge pole of the dwelling house. At the time when the bones were placed in the coffin, three pigs, called *humu ia pa'aha,* were killed, to bind in the coffin (4). Bones were sometimes buried in the sepulchral platform or in the platform of a temple. Some temples had special pits lined with cut red-stone slabs for the purpose of receiving bones.

The skull was sometimes left with the body in the coffin. More frequently it was detached and secreted. Skulls were commonly put on or in the ground in the tribal temple or secreted in the sacred banyans on these sacred places or in other trees that surrounded them. After the temple, the favorite place for disposition of skulls was in caves difficult of access, called *ana hakanatina* (cave for hiding). The skull of a chief was an object of tribal veneration. When the body of a chief had been exposed for about a month, his sister's daughter, accompanied by her grandfather and grandmother, went secretly and cut off the head. The body was put in a cave in the mountains, but the head, which was very *tapu,* was placed in a small oblong vessel with a bird's head carved at one end (*otue*). (See fig. 11, *b*.) The vessel was covered with a cloth and the head was carried in it to the temple by the women. When they came to the sacred precincts, the grandfather took the vessel and carried it in. The skull was thereafter kept there, being brought out at the time of certain public activities, such as fishing. When a chiefess died, her husband, accompanied by her maternal uncle or other maternal relatives, took the head to the temple. The great care which was taken in the preservation of the skull of a deceased ancestor is another manifestation of the belief in close association between a man's skull or head and his spiritual power—a belief exhibited in another way in war, in the capture of heads and in their preservation.

[178] Ceremonial and inspirational priests were sometimes buried in a vault dug beneath the sacred place of the tribe. This vault will be described in connection with the temple *(me'ae)*. It is striking that the two most

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sacred classes of individuals of the tribe were given grave burial in the ground, the only other persons who were buried in this way being those who died without relatives to take care of their bodies properly, and certain persons whose spirits were specially feared, such as the insane, lepers, consumptives, and women who had died in childbirth. 764 778

The great memorial festivals that followed some time after the death and disposal of the body of a chief or high priest are described under Festivals.

SACRED PLACES OF SEPULTURE

The *taha tupapa'u (taha,* place; *tupapa'u,* corpse), a part of the establishment of every family in Hiva Oa, was virtually the family shrine. It was a sacred platform consecrated primarily to the treatment and disposal of the bodies of the dead and as such actually amounted to a private temple (*me'ae*). These platforms for the dead were, however, never referred to as *me'ae.* On the other hand the platform on which the body of the priest or chief was placed, at death, being the same as that at which tribal ceremonial was performed was called a *me'ae.* 764 778

Me'ae were fundamentally and originally places of sepulture, though they functioned also as places of public ceremonial. These two functions of the tomb-temples united as one, since all the ceremonial that was performed at the *me'ae* had to do with the bodies of priests or chiefs or with sacrifice to tribal deities—these priests and chiefs deified—or with some phase of the ancestral cult. There were other sacred places not of equal importance. Such were family shrines, sacred places for the purpose of depositing hair of women and other sacred objects, special sacred places for the purpose of depositing the hair of men, and so on. Lastly there was a type of sacred place called *tokai* at which offerings were presented to the evil spirits *(fanana)* that caused women to die in child-birth. (See Spirits.)

Me'ae was the term generally used for the tribal sacred places. On the island of Ua Huka and Ua Pou, they were known more commonly as *ahu.* Other synonymous terms used throughout the group were: *a tapu (a,* place; *tapu,* sacred); *vahi tapu (vahi,* place); *taha tapu (taha,* place). Dordillon gives also *vahi hi'o hi'o (vahi,* place; *hi'o hi'o,* calm, silent); *pito tapu (pito,* umbilicus). *Ona tapu (ona,* enclosure) is also given as meaning a place where *tapu* objects were put (8). Père Jean (19) distinguishes two types of *me'ae.* He wrote that *ahu fenua (fenua,* land) were tribal shrines at which food offerings were presented; here there was no eating of human flesh. *Ahu ikoa enana (ikoa,* name; *enana,* man), on the other hand, were the property of particular families, being burial

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764 778 places of chiefs and priests and at the same time places of human sacrifice and places where revenge victims were devoured. The type of *ahu* in which human flesh was eaten was accessible only to priests, chiefs, and warriors. One infers that the other *ahu*, being tribal, was more accessible to the common people.

Broadly used, *me'ae* was applied not only to sacred places that had platforms or buildings associated with treatment of bodies or ceremonial but sometimes to any places, such as trees, hill tops, or caves, that had been used for disposal of sacred relices of the dead. Specifically, however, when a *me'ae* is spoken of, a sacred place with platforms and other structures, used for tribal ceremonial, is referred to.

764 778 184 Sepulchral platforms were used rarely, if at all, by private families on Nuku Hiva and on Ua Pou. Mr. Linton found that they were absent also in Fatu Hiva. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton found them to be used in the same way as those on Hiva Oa, but called, however, *vahi tomia tupapa'u* (*vahi*, place; *tomia*, burial). Though these platforms, called *taha tupapa'u* in Hiva Oa, were not used on Ua Pou nor on Nuku Hiva, there was in use on Ua Pou, and apparently on Nuku Hiva also, a special house in which the body was treated. In other words, the only difference in practice was that the house was not placed on a specially erected platform on Ua Pou unless the body was that of a chief or priest, in which case the house was on the platfrom of the *me'ae*. On Ua Pou, the body of a commoner was treated in a small special house or shed erected on the ground near the platform of the sleeping house or was kept on a portable bier in the sleeping house. Evidence obtained by me would indicate that it was only the bodies of those of chiefly or priestly class that were honored by being placed in the *me'ae*. As regards Nuku Hiva, Porter says (24, pp. 114-115), without stating whether he is speaking merely of the chiefly ciass or not:

> When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a tabbooed house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practiced with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them.

Porter's evidence would indicate that on Nuku Hiva it was the bodies of men that were put in the *me'ae*, the bodies of women being treated in an abandoned sleeping house.

TAHA TUPAPA'U

764 778 On Hiva Oa the *taha tupapa'u*, or platform for the dead, is a simple small platform carefully constructed of stream boulders, well fitted to-

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gether and encasing rough stone, rubble, and earth. These platforms are easily recognizable through the fact that their height is much greater in proportion to their length and breadth as compared with that of the platform of the sleeping house. The dimensions of *taha tupapa'u* averaged between six and eight feet in height, ten and fifteen feet in length, six and ten feet in breadth. These platforms for the dead stand in close proximity to the sleeping houses. In the upper surface of the platform was a trench called *vale*, which ran lengthwise with the platform beneath the bier on which the body was exposed, and which was intended to catch the juices of decay that came from it.

The bier, on which the body was extended, stood in the middle of the platform on four posts about four feet high and was made usually of fau poles. Melville (23, p. 224) describes a bier on Nuku Hiva constructed of elastic bamboo ingeniously twisted together. This was supported, about two feet from the ground, by large canes planted uprightly in the earth.

The body lay extended on this bier, either exposed for treatment and drying or covered with a sheet of tapa; or it was seated, leaning forward, with arms and head supported on a frame in a shape of a cross. The portable bier used on Ua Pou has been already described.

Protecting the bier and the workers was a *fa'e vaka (fa'e,* house; *vaka,* canoe) or *fa'e ha'a pa'a (ha'a pa'a,* to dry). This was merely a four-posted shed open at the sides, the roof of which was thatched with coconut leaf mats. When the body was being treated, the shed was decorated with ribbons or strips of the sacred white or red banyan cloth, about one foot wide, with coconut leaves plaited on the posts *(kopinipini)* and with other greenery.

ME'AE

Me'ae, the sacred places used for burial and for the performance of ritual at times of festivals, with few exceptions consisted of a platform or platforms within a sacred but not enclosed area, and were located in various types of places, according to their main usage. Those that were primarily for burial were in secluded spots such as the depths of valleys, the tops of hills, and so on. On the other hand, those that appear to have had burial merely as secondary usage, being primarily for the performance of ritual in connection with festivals, were attached to and a part of the feast place, which was itself a part of the establishment of the chief of the tribe. It may be that those of the latter type were used at times for burial, but it is certain that this was not the main purpose for which they were built, as it was the purpose for which those in the secluded spots

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764 778 were erected. It would seem that Père Jean's term *ahu fenua* must refer to those that were attached to or near to the feast place, and that the *ahu ikoa kenana* were those used for burial.

Me'ae were usually owned by the chief as the head of the tribe. A chief or tribe might have one or many; private families had their own sacred places. Such evidence as has come to me, however, shows that these were never called *me'ae*, but were given various names—*taha tupapa'u*, *ahu*, *feia'u*—depending on their use. The *me'ae* of a chief, like all of his other possessions, was inherited by his first-born.

The names of *me'ae* are usually not subject to analysis or translation. Occasionally one can trace a name to mythological sources, as O'o Va'u, a *me'ae* in the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona), this name being taken from that of an ancient land prominent in mythology. The names of temples are rarely descriptive—another *me'ae* in the same valley is called Ke'i Ani (*ke'i*, pierce; *ani*, sky), but this is really the name of a small mountain in the valley, the top of which served as the temple. There are certain temple names which appear to have been favorites—that which recurs more frequently than any other throughout the group is Pou Au which was the name of the central *me'ae* of Vevau. The term used by Père Jean for the type of *ahu* used for burial, *ahu ikoa kenana* (*ikoa*, name; *kenana*, man), suggests that such *me'ae* were named after the individuals in whose honor they were built.

The placing of the platforms in the *me'ae* was determined by use and topography. They were built like those of sleeping houses and had one or several levels according to the requirements of their use. They consisted of a core of earth with broken stone and rubble in a casing of boulders or natural blocks. Some *me'ae* had several rows of equal sized smooth beach boulders (*kiva*) in the walls, and rows of cut, red-stone slabs (*ke'etu*) lining the borders of different levels like a curbing. Others [532] were ornamented with blocks carved as human heads, small conventionalized representations of the human figures in relief, and geometric bas-reliefs on red-stone slabs. There was no enclosing wall around the sacred place—the limits of the sacred precincts would appear to have been well enough known not to have needed such protection, and during rites, the sacred limits, beyond which the people must not pass, were indicated by stakes of fau wrapped with cloth.

The most important of the platforms was that which held the images. As a rule this was placed in a position dominating the rest, being commonly in such a location as to make it the rearmost of the group of platforms that constituted the *me'ae* as a whole.

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On other platfroms were houses for various purposes: the house of the inspirational priest *(fa'e takau, fa'e tu'a)*, a house or houses in which his assistants lived during the rites, another for the ceremonial priest, the *fa'e vaka* for the body of the dead chief or priest—if this ceremonial were being performed—, a house for the bodies of human sacrifices, and so on. All of these types of houses, the temporary shrines that were erected at certain times in the sacred place, the images and *tapu* signs, and the paraphernalia, such as drums and conch-shells—all constituting temporary parts of the *me'ae*—will be described in connection with the rites of which they were a part. Long stone slabs or blocks were set up on some platforms or in the ground to serve as back-rests for the priests and old men who took part in the ritual.

It appears that beneath some of the *me'ae* there were pits or vaults, dug for the burial of ceremonial priests (*tau'a*). Père Jean (19) says that the body of the dead *tau'a* was buried in a very deep pit beneath the *ahu*, and adds that from many of these pits there branched off a subterranean way, at the end of which was another pit or ditch with another subterranean way or vault *(souterrain)* at the end of it.

According to modern informants, pits lined with cut red-stone slabs were made in temple platforms, some being intended to hold a whole skeleton, or skeletons, and others being merely for the deposition of skulls. Other round well-like pits lined with boulders are to be observed in the platforms of *me'ae*, the use of some of which would appear to have been for storing the breadfruit paste *(ma)* eaten by the priests and their attendants, and of others for disposing of sacred objects. Some of the sacrifice pits are known to have been a part of the sacred platforms or to have been near them, and others were separate. At Ta'a Oa on the island of Hiva Oa, at some distance to the eastward of the *me'ae*, there is such a pit into which the human sacrifices were thrown. At Pua Ma'u Mr. Linton examined such a sacrifice pit, which was stone lined. According to Père Siméon, these sacrifice pits were called *tai nui* (*tai*, sea; *nui*, great). A trustworthy informant on Nuku Hiva said that they were called there *pa keho (pa*, enclosure; *keho*, stone blocks of basalt). The remains of human bones and animal bones found in the platforms of sacred places, as well as literary evidence from the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers and information from living natives, show that the remains of sacrifices and sacred objects were sometimes buried under the floor of the sacred platforms, instead of being thrown into pits.

Universally associated with the *me'ae* were sacred trees or sacred groves. Most common of all is the banyan *(aoa)* which was sacred beyond all other trees. Frequently nowadays a great banyan is found growing

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upon the most important platform of a *me'ae* and in many places it is impossible to tell whether the tree was planted on a platform already built or whether the platform was built around a tree already growing. The tangled roots of these great banyans furnished a hiding place for sacred relics of the dead and for other objects. In some places ironwood trees *(toa)*, which grew naturally on high secluded spots, formed the sacred groves. Many of the sacred places were located where there were single great *temanu* trees or groves of them.

Me'ae were *tapu* always, but particularly during the time of performance of ritual in their precincts. At no time could a woman—other than an inspirational priestess—set foot within the precincts of a temple. At the time of ceremonial it appears that, at some times at least, not even the chief could enter, only those being allowed access who were actually performing ceremonial, namely, the priests and their assistants. At other times, it is evident that, in addition to the ceremonial priests, the chief and warriors entered.

With the completion of a rite in the *me'ae*, all the temporary structures connected with it, including the shrines and houses (but not the images), were destroyed. It was only during the times of ceremonies that even the inspiration priest actually stayed in the precincts. At other times, the sacred places were deserted—hence their unkempt appearance described by a number of early visitors.[8]

DESCRIPTIONS OF SEPULCHRAL PLACES BY EARLY VISITORS

Some of the descriptions of sepulchral houses and platforms given in the accounts of early visitors are of *taha tupapa'u*, others of *me'ae*. It is not of great importance to distinguish between the two in the descriptions, since the use of both and the customs in connection with them were in general the same. Du Petit-Thouars observed houses for the dead, the posts of which were painted red and yellow (10, p. 347). In the account of the Duff's voyage (30, pp. 525-526), a sepulchral place of a chief (doubtless a *fae* in a *me'ae)* is described as follows:

> This house stood on a square platform, raised with stones, with a wall six-feet high, on the lowest side; (all of them being built upon a declivity;) a sort of escutcheon appears in the inside in memory of Honoo, the chief's father. A drum, somewhat in the Otaheitean style, but much longer, adorns each end. At a little distance, on the same platform, another house presents itself, built on a small eminence, leaving a space in front, where two rude wooden figures of men are placed, nearly as large as life. Against the side of the house, three other escutcheons

[8]For details of the construction of *me'ae* and other stone structures the reader is referred to Linton's report on his archaeological survey, which at this date (December, 1922) has not yet been published.

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are placed. The house had no door or opening of any kind; but excited by curiosity, one of the brethren opened a hole on the side of it, and beheld a coffin fixed upon two stakes, about a yard from the ground.

The following is a description (17, p. 158) of a similar place on Fatu Hiva:

On the platform were two coffins of hollowed coco-nut trees slung between stakes, stuck up after the fashion of piled arms. Over these coffins were the remains of a kind of thatch of leaf matting. Skulls grinned at us from the hollows, between the roots of neighboring trees. The coffins had fallen partly from their places, and skeletons, tappa cloth, strings of beads, and hair mixed with cocoa fibre, streamed over the sides on to the ground, presenting a gruesome spectacle. Bowls for holding food for the corpses lay about, a flask made from a gourd hung from a branch, and two roughly carved wooden gods surveyed the scene with a sort of drunken solemnity.

The following descriptions by Porter and Melville of what they observed in Nuku Hiva are interesting, in that they are indicative of the definite conception in the mind of the native that the soul of the dead went to Havai'i in a canoe. On Hiva Oa I have never heard of this custom of placing the body seated in a canoe and am inclined to think it was peculiar to Nuku Hiva. Porter (24, p. 111) says:

On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral, shells, etc., with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country.

Melville's description (23, pp. 201-202) is as follows:

Like all the other edifices of any note, it was raised upon a small pi-pi of stones, which, being of unusual height, was a conspicuous object from a distance. A light thatching of bleached palmetto-leaves hung over it like a self-supported canopy; for it was not until you came very near that you saw it was supported by four slender columns of bamboo, rising at each corner to a little more than the height of a man. A clear area of a few yards surrounded the pi-pi and was enclosed by four trunks of cocoa-nut trees resting at the angles on massive blocks of stone. The place was sacred. The sign of the inscrutable Taboo was seen in the shape of a mystic roll of white Tappa, suspended by a twisted cord of the same material from the top of a slight pole planted within the enclosure. . . . On all sides as you approached this silent spot you caught sight of the dead chief's effigy, seated in the stern of a canoe, which was raised on a light frame a few inches above the level of the pi-pi. The canoe was about seven feet in length; of a rich, dark colored wood, handsomely carved and adorned in many places with variegated bindings of stained sinnate, into which were ingeniously wrought a number of sparkling sea-shells, and a belt of the same shells ran all around it. The body of the figure—of whatever material it might have been made—was effectually concealed in a heavy robe of brown tappa, revealing only the hands and head; the latter skilfully carved in wood, and surmounted by a superb arch of plumes. These plumes, in the subdued and gentle gales which found access to this sequestered spot, were never for one moment at

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rest, but kept nodding and waving over the chief's brow. The long leaves of the palmetto dropped over the eaves, and through them you saw the warrior holding his paddle with both hands in the act of rowing, leaning forward and inclining his head, as if eager to hurry on his voyage. Glaring at him forever, and face to face, was a polished human skull, which crowned the prow of the canoe. The spectral figurehead, reversed in its position, glancing backwards, seemed to mock the impatient attitude of the warrior.

Stewart (26, p. 266) observed the following in Nuku Hiva:

The bier was prepared for the deposit of the body after it should be placed in the coffin, and the cones of cocoa-nut leaf were shrines formed by the priests, in which to place food and water for the spirit of the deceased, to which incense, formed by placing heated stones in urns of cocoa-nut oil, is also offered.

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727 Porter (24, pp. 88-89) describes plundering by his victorious allies:

> The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of drums, mats, callabashes, and other household untensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them.

Stealing the enemies' images was the custom with victorious parties. Unless the attack was very sudden it is probable that none of the personal property of a people would be secured by the victors, with the exception of the ornaments worn by slain warriors, for the women of the defeated warriors used to pack up in small bundles all the portable wealth and carry it away with them.

[778] When the warriors of a tribe were completely defeated, the whole tribe took flight from their valley. There were no sacred places of refuge in the Marquesas. Sometimes a defeated people would be able to come back into their devastated valley, but sometimes it was held by the conqueror, and the refugees had to find homes elsewhere in a deserted region or among friendly tribes. A victorious chief would sometimes be clement and allow the defeated tribe to stay in their valley. Before a battle women, [722] children and old men either took refuge in a place of refuge or in the mountains or held themselves in readiness for flight in their valley. It is said that old men and women were often left, and were massacred and eaten by the victors (14, pp. 85-86). Frequently tribes that expected attack and the consequent necessity of flight had canoes built and held in readiness for escape by sea. Defeated people were called on Hiva Oa *po'i hina* (*po'i*, people; *hina*, overthrown) and on Nuku Hiva *moehu*. Refugees might be absorbed by the victorious tribe but they were never made slaves or vassals. Dordillion gives *tapu hao fenua* as the name of a festival after the defeat of a war party (9).

CAPTIVES OF WAR

From the manuscript of Dordillon come the following notes regarding the war ceremonial. When a victim was captured in battle, he was brought to the dance area and presented to the ceremonial priest who was wearing a coconut leaf headdress. The warriors stood around, and, led by the priest, they cried, *"Ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka."* The god then entered into his priest and cried through his mouth *"A u u u u-a! Au u u u-a! Mai te mata! Mai te mata!"* (Enter in! Enter in! Bring the eyes! Bring the eyes!) The old men singers forming the chorus assisting at the rite, cried, *"Aua!"* three times. (It is evident that the scene of activity was then transferred to the temple attached to the

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(*po'u akau nui*). Linton describes also hammer stones, rubbing stones used for dressing wood, and the use of coral and pebbles for smoothing and polishing (20).

These blocks were frequently carved with high relief designs representing human figures and geometric designs. (See fig. 13.) Large stone carving in the round was practiced in making the stone images (*tiki ke'a*) of tribal gods, which were carved in exactly the same conventions as were the wood figures. In stonework as in woodwork, the chief instrument used was the adz, serving in this case, of course, more for wearing away and chipping than for cutting.

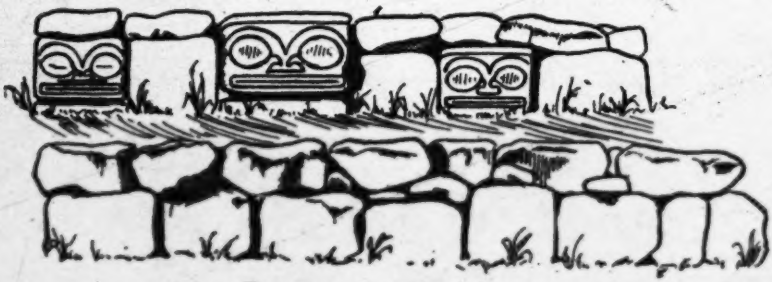

FIGURE 13.—A temple platform.

One of the chants and rites for the sacred first-born boy mentions *fatu*, sacred blocks of hard stone, that were put in the special structure erected for the rite. From these a piece was taken to make the new adz for the boy. This new adz was probably the *toki mana*. In the same chant is mentioned the use of wet sand for rubbing and polishing. Sharpening stones are to be seen everywhere today, blocks of smooth volcanic rock showing the worn spots and grooves made by grinding and sharpening adzes.

Gouges (*toki-koma, pakoma*—8) were made of stone as were also adzes. Linton describes the use of stone chisels hafted in wood, and casuarina mallets.

The rocks of great size that were used in constructing some platforms, and smaller stones too heavy for a man to carry were transported by means of a contrivance called *fata'a*, made of poles and logs, enabling a great number of men to lend their strength. The *fata'a* used in carrying great quantities of hogs to the betrothal feast was described as a great litter made by lashing cross-pieces on two long poles, which the men carried on their shoulders. On Ua Huka, a photograph was taken of natives carrying a large stone slung by a rope from a group of radiating poles resting one on top of the other (fig. 14.) At Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa, a

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285 hold occupation in the Marquesas. The only baskets used were made of coconut leaf. *Kete* was a general term for bakets; Dordillon (8) gives also *ki'e ki'e* and *puru* [Tahitian, probably] as the term used for a small basket made of coconut leaves.

322 Other minor industries, which occupied the spare time of natives at home, were the making of bowls, weapons, implements, and ornaments, and the decoration of them by carving. Experts (*tuhuna*) who were skilled at these industries devoted themselves to them as professions. But families depended mostly on those in the household who were apt at such work. The work was always done on or under the sacred stone house (*fata'a*), which was *tapu*. A full description of the processes and products of these industries will be found in Linton's study of the material culture (20).

FISHING

226 463 All the professional fishermen were called *ava-ika*. Such professionals did not go to war, hence they were little honored in the tribe. The chief fisherman who directed operations and performed the ceremonial was known by several titles, *tuhuna ava-ika, ava-ika ke'i* (*ke'i*, great), *ava-ika nui* (*nui*, great). The natives of Atu Ona say that the fishermen in the old days lived continuously in the fishing precincts, but informants elsewhere say that the fisherman dwelt there only at the times of fishing—a statement that seems more likely to be true.

226 ●778 Fishermen's sacred precincts (*taha tapu na te ava-ika*) belonging to the larger tribal units were found in all sections of the group. They were, of course, always near the sea at some good landing place, which meant usually a beach. In some places the fishermen lived in a single house on a large platform. My information is that at Atu Ona the sleeping houses were small huts elevated on posts, the fishermen sleeping four in a house. Mr. Linton was told that the houses themselves were on the ground, but that the beds in which the fishermen slept were on posts. As to whether the precincts were marked off by any permanent enclosing fence or wall, I have no information, but I doubt it for the reason that mention of such never came out in discussion of these places, and because permanent enclosing fences or walls around restricted areas seem not to have been common in the Marquesas. Every such sacred precinct was named[7]. Thus the sacred places at both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, were named Mahia. This seems to be not a general term, but a matter of coincidence. Besides the sleeping places for the fishermen and their cook house, there were also in the precincts sheds for the canoes, a house for the nets and

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[7] The names of a number of these sacred precincts in the Marquesas will be published in a subsequent paper.

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other paraphernalia, and the house in which was located the shrine used in the fishing rites. Secreted by being buried in the ground were the stone fish gods (*tiki*). At Ta'a Oa there was a stone platform on which the rites were performed, and the *tiki* were buried in it when not in use.

At Atu Ona the fishermen's sacred precincts were near the beach, midway between the present position of the pond and the gendarme's house. The place was last used in about 1880. The most important structure in it was the shrine (*oho au pu'e*), a large house devoted to chanting the *pu'e* in connection with the fishing rites. This house was so *tapu* that only the chief fisherman, who performed the rites, could enter. Inside were a small staging (*fata'a*) that served as an altar and two parallel rows of peeled fau stakes (*koufau*) wrapped with cloth and ornamented with coconut leaves which were woven around them. During the rites the stone image of the fishing god was placed midway between these two rows. The net was kept in another house (*oho au upena*), which was sacred. There were about ten other buildings in which the fishermen slept while there, cooked their food, and so on. The canoes were lodged in sheds (*oho au vaka*). I was told that the sleeping houses, the ceremonial house, and the house for storing the nets were all elevated on short posts with roofs coming to the floor on either side, ends closed, and a rectangular door in one end. The precincts as a whole were *tapu* to women.

Gods of Fishing and Religious Rites

Te Fatu Moana (*te*, the; *fatu*, master; *moana*, sea—the same as *Tana-oa*) was the principal god of the sea. Tupaaveko and Hahatai were the gods invoked by *peata* (a large fish) fishers, Avehie and Tohea by fishers of the ray (*haha'ua*), Aamoko by fishers of the tortoise (*honu*), Puhai by those who fished swimming with a line. Hahati was the patron of fishers in general. Anamaha, Puovo, and Eia Toke'e' were gods of fish nets. Moetai (*moe*, sleep; *tai*, sea) sent good winds (4), but Tana-oa was also god of the winds.

The small island of Fatu Uku, northeast of Hiva Oa, used to be a favorite fishing place for Pua Ma'u natives. There are coral reefs about the island, and fish are very plentiful. Hence the island was sacred to Tana-oa, god of the sea; fishermen used to land there and, on a stone platform built for sacrifice and consecrated to this god, made offerings of chickens and pigs' heads.

Religious rites connected with fishing appear to have been performed entirely at the shrine in the fishermen's precincts, never at the tribal temple.

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227 The practice in the Marquesas of a method of fishing common in the Tuamotus and Tahiti is indicated by the translation of the words *auo'a, kauo'a* as given by Dordillon (8)—that is, the practice of hemming in fish in shallow water by means of long braids of leaves. This method must have been little used in the Marquesas on account of the rare occurrence of reefs and shallow water.

227 286 The process of making the cord for fishing nets was called *fi'o na aho.* For the work a special shelter (*oho au*) was erected and consecrated. This was built in the form of the regular dwelling with a sloping rear wall ascending direct to the ridge, closed ends, and the lower half of the front fishermen. According to Dordillon (9) the fishermen had to fast three days before making the net. The manufacture of the net was accomplished in a consecrated shelter (*oho au*) by the seashore within the sacred precincts of the fishermen. The second netful taken in the deep-sea fishing with the new net was always given to the women who made the cord.

A festival (*ko'ina upena*) was celebrated at the seashore upon the completion of a new net. Food was prepared up the valley and carried down to the fishermen's precincts. All the tribe attended and feasted, but only those who were free from *tapu* were allowed to enter the precincts and the house where the net was kept.

Deep-Sea Fishing at Atu Ona

226 Deep-sea fishing and the net with which it was done were alike called *upena.* At Atu Ona, the evening before the men went fishing, the *pu'e* was always intoned in the ceremonial house by the *ava-ika-nui.* There were many images (*tiki*) of different fishing gods used, all the gods thus associated with deep-sea fishing being known by the collective term, *e au upena.* ●[778] The *tiki* were small stone figures, some of them, if not all, carved roughly in the form of a fish. One *tiki* was used at a time, the others being kept buried in the ground. When a fishing venture had been unsuccessful during the time that a certain *tiki* had been presiding in the shrine, this image would be buried in the ground and another placed in its stead. The new image would retain the place as long as the fishermen's luck showed his *mana* to be efficacious. It is said that no fish was offered to the *tiki* here. At Ta'a Oa, on the other hand, I was told that the first fish were always offered to the god. It is probable that part of the first netful, which was reserved for the fishermen, was presented by them to their god.

The net was regarded as extremely sacred (*tapu oko*). It was square, from thirty to thirty-six feet across, and had on each side a strip of ironwood, to each end of which a line was attached. In the center of the net was a round basket-like section, like the crown of a hat, about eight feet in dia-

[Text continues on p. 172. - Analyst]

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793 787 ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

793 784 778 The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under [421] Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one [822] *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

793 834 194 The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

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kohoe were ***tapu*** to them, and they must eat alone. Two rites consecrated them, the first one called ***tuputu***, the main feature of which seems to have consisted in the initiate's eating ***ka'aku*** (see Preparation of Food) alone; and the second called ***pouhahati*** when there was drumming and chanting (7). Beyond this no details of these rites are known.

Tests by other members of the same profession, and contests between famous ***tuhuna o'ono*** of different tribes, were important events in the lives of these bards. Such contests were regarded as tribal affairs, and the contesting ***tuhuna*** were looked upon as tribal champions. When there was a great festival in the valley and there were visiting bards of other tribes, the local ***tuhuna*** (experts in crafts) would call together a meeting in a special house built for the purpose. Here before all those who were interested, and particularly the local and visiting ***tuhuna*** of all kinds, the local bards would match wits and learning with the visitors. If any bard were found in error by a consensus of opinion of the rest of the masters, he then and there ceased to be recognized as a ***tuhuna*** and could never again lay claim to this distinction. A type of chant called ***ui*** (see Chants) recounts such contests between champions of different tribes. More informal contests occurred between individuals who were learned in stories and chants. I was a witness of such an encounter in Fatu Hiva between an old woman who is recognized for her knowledge of lore and a younger man of Hiva Oa, who she had heard was teaching "the American" the ancient lore. It was believed by the natives that a defeated bard would die as the result of a defeat, which involved the loss of his power (***mana***). Some informants say that a defeated ***tuhuna*** was killed.

At times when he was not engaged in his professional activities the ***tuhuna o'ono*** lived in a home and with a family in just the same way as any other member of the tribe. When he was consecrated to tribal ceremonial he stayed in the sacred precincts and had nothing to do with his family or any outsiders. When he was consecrated to the work of teaching or recitation of chants for private rites, he resided at the place where his duties were being performed and was restricted from contact with outsiders in the same way.

At Pua Ma'u the ceremonial dress of the ***tuhuna o'ono*** consisted of a turban, loin cloth, and robe, all made of the red brown bark of the young banyan tree (***hiapo***). In this valley it would seem that the ***tuhuna o'ono*** and the ***tau'a*** wore red, while the assistants or sacrificers (***taputoho***) wore white.

Because of his sacred functions, the ***tuhuna o'ono*** was a very sacred person, although by no means so sacred as the inspirational priest, who represented the tribal god himself. The same rites were, however, per-

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SACRED PRECINCTS AND THEIR CEREMONIAL USES

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There were two types of the tribal sacred places, both of which belonged to the chief as the head of the tribe. First there were those to be found in secluded places, being primarily for disposal of the remains of the dead, but also used for ceremonial. These sacred places of sepulture (*me'ae*) have already been described in connection with disposal of remains of the dead. The second type was attached to and a part of the festival places of the tribe, and primarily for use in rites performed at the feast place.

At ceremonial times a number of temporary structures were set up within the sacred enclosure of the tribal temple, being destroyed later upon the completion of the rite of which their erection was a part. Among the temporary buildings were the special house of the inspirational priest, the houses for the assistants, those for the remains of sacrifices, for the ceremonial priest, and so on. A type of small sacred shrine, called *feia'u*, appears to have been erected sometimes inside of the inspirational priest's house and sometimes outside. There were other shrines, called *ananu'u* both inside and outside of the sacred houses. Restricted areas were indicated by peeled hibiscus stakes wrapped in tapa and plaited coconut leaves. The other objects in the sacred precincts were images—usually of wood—conch shells, and the large pearl shell hooks on which sacrifices were suspended in the trees. The banyan and *temanu* were regarded as sacred and were almost always associated with *me'ae*.

THE INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST'S HOUSE

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The most sacred of these temporary structures in the temple precincts was the house of the inspirational priest. This house was called *fa'e tukau*, or *tu'a*, and was built on a platform within the sacred precincts of the secluded tribal temple (*me'ae*), or on the sacrifice platform (*me'ae*) of the feast place (*taha ko'ina*). The following details regarding this structure were obtained at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa:

The house was erected by the temple assistants before the celebration of a rite. At the time of its erection one human sacrifice was killed and eaten. The characteristic feature of this structure was the great height of its roof and its small base, which gave it the appearance of an obelisk. The house had the general form of the native dwelling, that is, it was rectangular and the back wall was continuous from the ground to the ridge pole. The front roof came only part way to the ground, leaving an open section at the bottom. The end walls closed the building. There were three front posts and an end post in the center of each end wall supporting the ridge pole. The front of the house, below the eaves of

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778 346 the front roof, was open. The whole structure was thatched with breadfruit leaves. In Atu Ona, it was said that this house was thatched with palmetto leaves. The house in Pua Ma'u was said to have been built ten arm spans (*mao*) high (one *umi*, or ten *mao*—about sixty feet) and at the base about three spans (eighteen feet) long and three spans wide.

It is said that twelve hundred poles of *fau* were required to make the framework of this structure. By being lashed together the supports of the ridgepole and thatch were made long enough to atttain the great height required. Although the temple assistants erected the house, the aid of the whole tribe was required to get the materials. Outside the house, either in front of it or around it, was a restricted area marked off by about sixty peeled *fau* stakes (*koufau*) decorated with white and reddish cloth, indicating the limits of the most sacred restricted area. No one lived in the *fa'e tukau*. It was regarded as the house of the inspirational priest, but just how he made use of it in connection with his oracular duties, modern informants were unable to tell me. At Pua Ma'u, Pupuke was the god of the *fa'e tukau* and was supposed to live inside. There was, however, no image.

Such a house on Nuku Hiva is mentioned by Garcia (14, pp. 57-58). He speaks of a pyramidal house within the precincts of a *me'ae* that he visited. Dordillon (8) gives as a meaning for the word *fa'e tu'a*, a house pointed in the form of an obelisk. Porter (24, p. 111) describes such structures in a Nuku Hiva *me'ae*. To the right and left of images, which he describes in this sacred place were

> two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoanut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth. . . . The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises.

These would appear to be much less elaborate and permanent structures than those described to me as being built at Pua Ma'u, but there is little doubt that they were for the same purpose.

778 346 825 On top of the ridge pole of the inspirational priest's house were ornaments called *manu ku'a* (red bird), one for every arm span (*mao*) of height, placed at equal intervals along the ridge pole and at right angles to it. The *manu ku'a* was a mythical bird of red plumage. Some native stories recount voyages made in search of its feathers. These bird figures on the priest's house were made by splitting a section of bamboo with many slits, spreading them and stuffing cloth inside to form a roundish body. This frame, wrapped in white cloth that was afterwards stained red with the juice of the fruit of the *mahiha* (?), formed the body of the *manu ku'a*. Another piece of bamboo, wrapped in cloth that had been

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dyed in the same way, was attached to the body to represent the neck and head. There were no legs, the figures being attached directly to the thatch on the ridge pole. At equal intervals between the *manu ku'a* were placed other ornaments called *hukihuki,* made of three small pieces of *opini* (?) wood sharpened at the ends and wrapped in white and red cloth. These ornaments like the *manu ku'a,* were placed at right angles to the ridge pole, long strips of white cloth being left pendant so that they hung down on either side of the roof. These ornaments with their pendant strips indicated that the house was *tapu.* It is said that they were never removed but when worn out were refurbished and replaced. They were the property of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*), and when he died were buried with him.

Light is shed upon the subject of these bird symbols (*manu ku'a*) and the priestly emblems (*hukihuki, opini*), by certain notes of Père Pierre (7), the gist of which is as follows: There were three orders of gods—gods of the sky, gods of the land and sea, and gods of the underworld. The chief gods of the sky were three. In their honor the three cries (*hono*) were uttered by the ceremonial priest when human sacrifices were brought, and the three bundles of *fau* stems were erected upon the *me'ae* on the occasion of funerals of inspirational and ceremonial priests. Upon the occasion of such funeral rites the third of the gods of the sky, Te-hiti-kaupeka, was represented by coconut leaves braided, or by pieces of wood cut roughly, in the form of a bird, this emblem being the embodiment (or perhaps the messenger) of this god, which received the spirit of the deceased priest and conducted it to the sky. The *manu ku'a* would seem, then, to represent this bird messenger; and the *hukihuki* to be identified with the bundle of *fau* stems mentioned by Père Pierre.

Within the *fa'e tukau* was an *ananuu* (see Shrines). There were no images of any kind. Three pieces of wood spoken of as *papa* (plank or board), one apparently resting on the *ananuu,* the second midway up in the interior, were suspended or attached to the sides, and a third was hung beneath the ridge of the roof. On each of these, after writing had been introduced, the following legend was inscribed with the burnt end of a *fau* stick: *"Te ani puta ia Fai"* (The sky hole of Fai.) Before the introduction of writing, a symbol which stood for the same thing was used. It consisted of four designs (*tiki*) named *tava* enclosing an open space in the middle (see fig. 22, *b*) representing the cave—the sky hole of Fai—from which the god Fai was supposed to have brought fire. The very fragmentary account of how Fai sought fire in a cave or hole on top of the mountains is given in the section on myths and legends.

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778 346 An exceedingly interesting ceremony was performed in connection with this house of the inspirational priest. Just when or in connection with what rites this was performed I was unable to ascertain, but it seems probable that it was merely a part of the rites surrounding the erection and consecration of the new shrine (*fa'e tukau*), a testing of the strength of the house, and symbolic testing of the power of the inspirational priest and his god, for whom it stood. In the performance of the rite the inspirational priest took his place immediately in front of his house. A body of warriors approached with spears. When they came near, they threw their weapons toward the crest of the roof, attempting to hit the ornaments that adorned it. The object of this, my informants said, was to test the strength of the house of the *tau'a* and to see if it could be knocked down. The bundles of three *opini* stakes are known to have been symbols of the priest's *mana*. One seems justified in concluding, therefore, that the attempt on the part of the spearsmen to hit these objects was a symbolic and perhaps an actual testing of the power and sacredness (*mana*) of the priest.

FEIA'U AND SHRINES

Feia'u or *feiahu* were small temporary structures at both public and private sacred places, erected as a part of various rites. Dordillon (8) considers the word to mean a ceremony to make chiefs, doubtless owing to the fact that the erection of the *feia'u* was a part of the rites performed in honor of a chief's first-born son or daughter (see Sacred Chants). The *feia'u*, described to me in connection with betrothal rites at Pua Ma'u was said to have stood on a special low platform of its own and its posts to have been decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*).

In the *vavana* chant, certain details regarding the building of the *feia'u* are given, mentioning the special cord used for lashing the roof poles, the roof supports, the posts decorated with cloth and coconut leaves, and a feast celebrating the completion of the new sacred *feia'u tapa*. Elsewhere in this chant, *feia'u* is given as the name of the mythical house of the god Ono-tapu and his wife Tahuei.

778 The *ananuu* constructed at a sacred place may be characterized as a shrine. At Pua Ma'u it consisted of an upright stake or stakes with a crosspiece, against which were rested or bound four coconut leaves plaited. These, like *feia'u*, were made as a part of both public and private rites.

What were apparently *ananuu* are described by Stewart and Wilson in their accounts of the voyage of the ship "Duff" Both writers describe the *ananuu* as associated with private sepulture. Stewart (26, p. 266), says:

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At each corner of the low wall a number of long, slender bamboos were erected, tied together at short intervals in a square form of bands of white cloth, while within, surrounding a bier covered with white, were a number of cones six or eight feet high in the form of the braided leaf of the coconut, confined at the top by bands of white cloth, the ends of which hung down in long pennants. 778 ●

In Wilson's account (30, p. 526), "a sort of escutcheon" is described within a sepulchral house of a chief. "Again the side of another house, three other escutcheons are placed."

CEREMONIAL APPURTENANCES

Koufau were peeled *fau* stakes wrapped in white cloth and ornamented with plaited coconut leaves. These served as signs of *tapu*, marking off restricted areas during the times of the performance of ceremonial. What are evidently *koufau* are described by Garcia (14, p. 59). He speaks of an altar surrounded by long bundles of white stakes from which floated bits of vari-colored cloth. Melville describes similar signs of *tapu* around the restricted area on a feast place at the time of a festival (23, p. 198). *Koufau* are mentioned by Krusenstern in the following description (16, p. 127):

In the outer circle were some statues carved in wood, intended to represent the human figure, and evidently the coarse work of some unskilful artist; near to these statues were some pillars wrapt up in cocoa-leaves and a white cotton stuff. We were curious to learn what was the intention of them; but could obtain no answers to our inquiries, than that they were tahbu.—Near the morai was the priest's house, whom, however, we did not find there. Every family has its separate morai: the one we visited belonged to the priests.

Kopiripiri or *opinipini* (cf, *opini* on the *fa'e tukau*) was the term applied to the coconut leaves that embellished the *fau* stakes used as *tapu* symbols and the posts of sacred structures bedecked on the occasion of rites. Dordillon (8) gives as the meaning of the word *opini*, a sign of peace. The use of the coconut leaf as a symbol of peace is described under War. The coconut leaf appears to have been a symbol of sacredness that was used in a number of ways on ceremonial occasions: to decorate the sacred houses, *tapu* markers, and war canoes; as a headdress and body covering for *tuhuna* and others when occupied with ceremonial; and as a peace sign. The fact that a coconut leaf was used as the ceremonial dress of *tuhuna* justifies the conclusion that its use in decoration was probably primarily ceremonial rather than aesthetic. [824]

It is common today to find about the remains of some sacred places a great number of conch shells. It is probable that these were used along with drums in ceremonial, as was common in other groups, in announcing periods of tapu. Whether drums were used in the sacred precincts not

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attached to dance areas, I am uncertain. I have never been told of the use of them and have seen no record of their being found in sacred places. I am inclined to think, therefore, that in the Marquesas drums were confined to the feast places and were used only in connection with the rites practiced there.

Coral which is very commonly found in the platforms of the temples is known to have been used ceremonially in connection with the *tona pou* rite (see Sacred Chants), and it seems likely that it was used also as a part of the tribal rites as it was in Hawaii and Tahiti.

Stewart (26, pp. 251-252) mentions other small ceremonial objects:

> Sometimes, a human skull is placed in a curiously wrought urn adorned with flowers, and elevated in a similar manner. A cocoa-nut leaf, also, woven so as to represent a human victim, and fastened to a long pole, is borne along on the shoulders of two men; a principal priest then speaks aloud, as if asking a question, and all the rest answer in a shout. The vociferative part of this ceremony is also practiced when on the water in their canoes. Frequent use in these ceremonies is made of a piece of wood, with another fastened across the top of it; and also of a small canoe, decorated with human hair. At times, too, a *kami* or girdle, or other article is held up, and the name of a god invoked in a loud and bold manner; and when a surgical operation is about to be performed, the rude instrument of tooth or bone is elevated, in a similar way, towards the imaginary power, as if expressive of dependence for success on the skill that may be supernaturally imparted.

Skulls were among the most important of the sacred paraphernalia associated with places of worship. The skulls of chiefs or priests were the tokens of the presence of their spirits. Garcia (14, p. 58) observed in a *me'ae* four skulls in one corner embellished with some sort of decoration. The taking of a dead chief's skull to the temple after the treatment of his body had been completed is described in the section on Death. Skulls were used in connection with the fishing rites (see Fishing); they were lashed on war canoes (see Canoes); and were used in other ways in ceremonial.

Images

The images (*tiki*) at temples represented deified tribal ancestors—chiefs and inspirational or ceremonial priests who had been famous in their time and whose spirits had become the tutelary deities of the tribe. These images were carved usually out of a tree trunk but sometimes of stone. In either case, they were carved in the typical Marquesan conventions (see fig. 22, *a*). Figures were for the most part of moderate size, though some were very large. Conventionalized human faces were also sometimes carved on the blocks which formed decorative elements in the walls of temple platforms. (See fig. 13). The image, or images usually stood at the rear of the sacred precincts on the uphill side or on the high-

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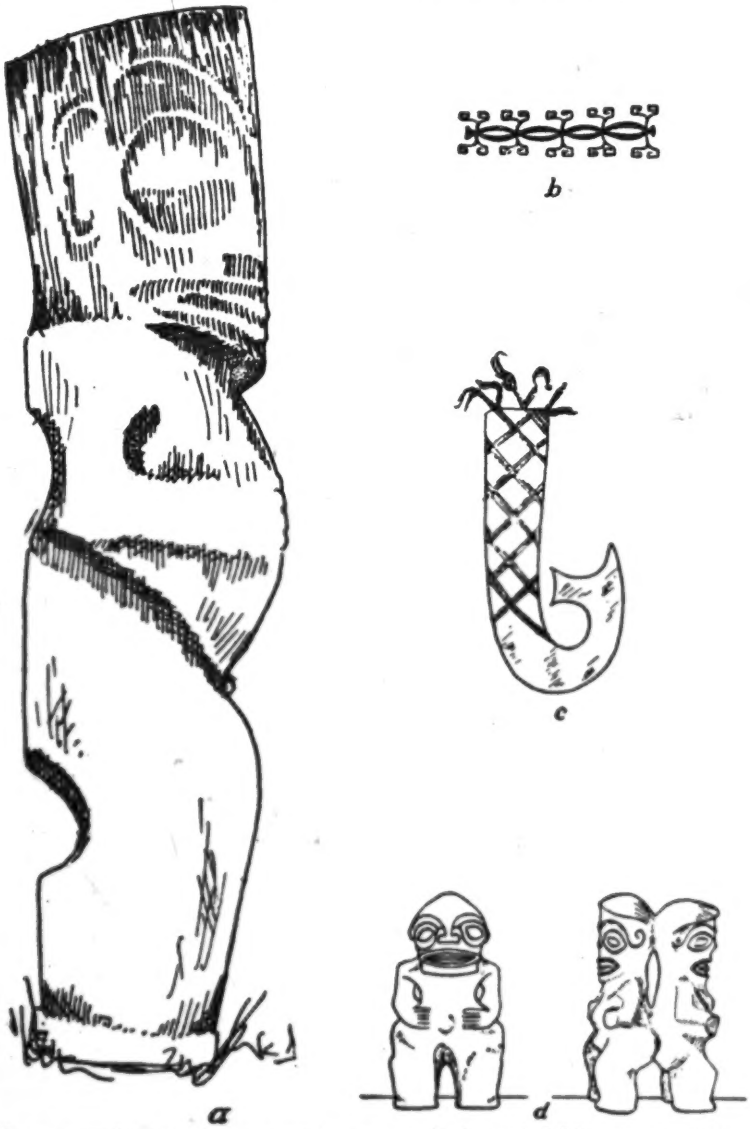

FIGURE 22.—Sacred objects: *a*, an image carved of wood (tiki); *b*, *tavo* design; *c*, hook, called *tavo*, for suspending human sacrifices; *d*, miniature stone images (tiki).

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●778 532 est platform. In addition to these large permanent figures were miniature stone images (*tiki*), either single human figures or double figures (fig. 22, *d*) carved out of one piece, back to back. In order to insure success these were taken to the sacred place and there presented as votive offerings by those initiating some undertaking. By whom images were made, when, and with what rites is unknown. Undoubtedly, there were special carvers; images, like the house in the precincts, were probably made from time to time, as they were needed in rites. Images were girded with loin cloths. That these loin cloths for the gods were ceremonially made is indicated by the following translation from the manuscript of Dordillon (9): "The old *tuhuka* [probably ceremonial priest], who beat the *hami* [loin cloth] for Paiau, Tohotika, and Tamaputona [names of gods] might eat only in the evening." It was probably the loin cloth of the image that Stewart describes as being elevated while an invocation was pronounced (26, p. 275).

It is instructive to note the impressions of early visitors as to the appearance and arrangement of images in sacred places. Stewart (26, p. 267) describes figures as standing inside of the houses:

> The temples do not differ from the larger inhabited houses, except that they are always open in front. All we saw contained three images, one at each end opposite and facing each other, and one in the middle against the thatch behind.

The following description by Porter (24, p. 111) would indicate that sometimes the images stood in the open:

> In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoanut, and *toa* trees . . . and a variety of other trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way. It is in a squatting posture, and not badly executed. His ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small; and, on the whole, is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among such a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the breadfruit tree. They are not more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model.

Such images as remain today, of course, stand on their platforms in the open and it is practically impossible to tell whether they had structures over them or not.

Garcia (14, p. 58) describes images of all sizes scattered about in a temple that he visited. In the middle of the place occupied by the images was an enormous stone figure roughly carved, about it a number of other figures, all of human form except one which represented a bird. (At Pua Ma'u there is an enormous stone image, apparently of a turtle.) About these were scattered the remains of offerings. Whether portable images

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or representations other than those used by the fishermen were employed in connection with public ceremonial is doubtful. Melville's description of the priest of Tai-pi consulting a small roughly carved image wrapped in cloth is of questionable authenticity. This evidence may be supported, however, by that of Stewart (26, pp. 250-51):

> Sometimes a bundle, which is called the "clothed god," consisting of a wooden log, wrapped in cloth, with four conch shells fastened upon it, is lifted up and carefully laid down again by the priests; all the people standing and making responses to an unintelligible jargon, during its elevation.

Altars and Offerings

It appears that some *me'ae* had altars for sacrifice and some had not. At both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa are large carved, stone blocks, which stand on the main or uppermost platform and which served as altars for human sacrifices. On the other hand, such stone altars are lacking on virtually all other *me'ae* and there is no evidence that wooden ones were used. In one of the manuscripts of the Catholic fathers, however, the human sacrifice is spoken of as being made on the *akau* (which literally means wood or log), suggesting that wooden altars were used.

Offerings of all kinds were presented at both public and private temples. Remains of calabashes, coconut shell *kava* cups, fish, pigs that had been hung in the trees as offerings, and also whole canoes and parts of them are described as being in temple precincts by Garcia (14, p. 58). Melville (23, p. 101) also describes seeing the putrefying remains of sacrifices. Human remains after the bodies had been taken down from the trees in which they were suspended were buried in the ground of the sacred precincts. (See Human Sacrifice.) Human, animal, and fish bones, occasionally bits of ornaments, and other objects, are to be found today in the platforms of sacred places.

Human Sacrifice

The order of procedure at the time of human sacrifice was—first, the designation by the priest of the number required, then the seeking of the victims and their capture by warriors, the return home of the warriors with their prizes, and the presentation of them to the priests. The bodies were first taken to the feast place (*tohua*), whence they were taken to the *me'ae* for the rite of *fa'i fa'i heana*. According to Père Pierre (7), the victims were laid in a row face down on the ground in the *me'ae*. The *tau'a* lay down upon them, and the *tuhuka o'oko* performed the rite of *ha'i heaka*. Drumming and chanting continued for seven days. At Pua Ma'u I was told that at these great rites all the *tuhuna* (professionals) of every kind assisted in the temple precincts, constituting the chorus for the chant-

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THE SKY WORLD

To the native mind the deified ancestral spirits, which were the tribal gods (*etua*), lived in regions in the sky. These tutelary deities of tribes were the departed spirits of chiefs and priests. This idea is illustrated in the story of Tikituao. (See Legends.) This conception obviously conflicts with that of a lower region or paradise for chiefs, which is described by Père Jean (19). Whether these two conceptions were reconciled in any way in the native mind, or whether there were two distinct beliefs belonging to different sections of the group, I have no way of knowing.

One native informant in Pua Ma'u said that according to some persons there are ten, according to others, four, and still others, three sky lands. She knew the names of three: the first and highest is Ani-tou-veohia; the second, Ani-kekeu; and the third, Ani-pupuke. According to Père Simeon (7), some said that there were seven heavens, other three. Legend describes a race, or people, called the Ati-touhua, who were supposed to live in some region in the sky. The character Te-tiki-vae-tahi (the one-legged *tiki*) was one of this race, the people of which were supposed to have only one arm and one leg. In the discussion of gods the three deities residing in the sky who seem to have had a very important connection with the tribal ceremonies are mentioned. (See Gods.)

EVIL SPIRITS

Fanaua

Fanaua were vicious female spirits, who attacked women, causing them to swell as though with child, and killing them. The word *fanaua* is sometimes used today interchangeably with *vehine hae*, which means really evil phantom; but the two words stand for entirely distinct concepts and their usage now is probably due to confusion of thought on the part of the modern natives with regard to their old beliefs. It will be seen below that the word *fanaua* is used today, as it was doubtless used anciently, to describe familiar spirits that took possession of women. These spirits, supported by offerings, served as personal protectors and as agents for inflicting harm on other women. *Vehine hae* were never "familiar" spirits.

Tokoi, also called *fanaua*, were sacred places where the bodies of women who died in childbirth were buried. Such a place might be a small platform, a rough pile of stones, or in some localities merely an open space. When such a site was consecrated to a powerful *fanaua*, there was a special attendant. Each *tokai* had its special presiding female demon (*fanaua*) who was supposed to have killed the women whose bodies were buried there. At Taiohae the sacred place was called after the name of the spirit to whom it was consecrated. Whether this was universal or

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●778 not I do not know; but all *tokai* had their names. According to Père Siméon (7) a forked tree was erected on the *tokai* and live chickens were hung in its branches. On some *tokai* there were images on the heads of which were stone caps (*mahu*), on top of which food offerings were placed. These *tokai* served as places for disposal of contaminated clothing and for objects of a defiling nature that had been associated with women.

According to Père Jean (19) fish and pigs' heads were suspended in the branches of the trees on *tokai*. On both Ua Pou and Ua Huka, it was ascertained that fishermen, especially, made offerings of fish at the *tokai*. I never learned, however, of any direct connection of these spirits with the fishing industry. It appears that the object of the offerings was to attract the evil spirits, thus keeping them from attacking women; and to propitiate them, so that they would not seek vengeance. Gifts for this purpose were called *ti au hanaua* (8). Dordillon characterizes these gifts [843] as bait. These sacred places were especially forbidden to pregnant women, for the natives believed that the unborn child and probably the woman herself would die if she went upon such a sacred place.

[845] Death of women in pregnancy appears always to have been very common in the Marquesas, and it is this natural phenomenon that is the basis of the *fanaua* belief. It was thought on Nuku Hiva that such spirits killed women by entering the womb when the woman was with child, or by entering it and merely giving her the appearance of being with child by causing a swelling. It is said that *fanaua* attacked in this way only women who were with child or who had previously borne children.

776 The following excellent notes regarding familiar spirits were gathered by Mr. Linton at Atu Ona. I doubt that the term *fanaua* was used broadly in ancient days to include the types of familiars here described. It is possible that the modern natives, some of whom believe in these things implicitly, may, nevertheless, be in some confusion with regard to the words that they use in describing them. The types of spirits having to do with the spirit phenomena described for the most part in this account in Linton's notes are referred to in the old manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries always as *etua*, and the use of *fanaua* is restricted implicity to the spirits associated with women dying in childbirth, described above. The account (20) is as follows:

> The spirits known as *fanaua* appear to be the souls of human beings who have died. They are always considered male and are known by personal names. Why some spirits should become *fanaua* could not be ascertained, but they vary in rank, those of chiefs being the most dangerous.
>
> *Fanaua* seem to have been of three classes: hereditary, personal and those controlled by the dead. The hereditary *fanaua* were the protectors of their female de-

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skyward, had very thin legs, and were so light that they scarcely touched the ground.

Such demons were supposed to inflict injury of some kind on adults; but it was children that needed most to be protected from them: they were thought to steal children, to inflict disease upon them, and to play such tricks as exchanging babies without the knowledge of the mothers. In the legends, *vehine hae* are described as cannibal ogresses who assumed the forms of lovely women at one moment and of hideous ogresses at another. As beautiful women they lured men to their caves, where, reverting to their true form, with eyes popping out and long tongue lapping down to the ground, they would devour their victims.

Etua Hae

Etua hae (wild gods) were spirits or phantoms which appeared not to have been conceived of as having human form. These spirits are said to be seen shooting across an open space, as for instance across a bay, like a streak of light, or as lights passing along the mountain ridges at night. They are apparently the same as the *kakainake*, which Dordillon (8) defines as fires like torches that the natives pretended to see on the mountains during night and took to be spirits.

TAPU

In the Marquesas, *tapu* meant primarily restricted or forbidden because sacred, not to be profaned, and secondly, defiled, spiritually dangerous. *Tapu* had as its fundamental meaning, sacred; thus, a first-born's head was *tapu*. The secondary meaning applied to rules to protect sacredness: thus, a woman's menstrual cloth was not *tapu*, but it was *tapu* to touch it. *Me'ie*, meaning literally a clear sky, was used as the word meaning not restricted, free, in contradistinction to *tapu*, restricted.

TAPU OF SACREDNESS

Sacredness of Persons

Males as a class, whether children or adults, were regarded as sacred in contradistinction to females as a class who were common. Chiefesses, by reason of their position, seem in this matter to have fallen in with the class of males rather than with females, in that their persons were regarded as sacred in the same way, and most of the ordinary restrictions of *tapu* for women were not applied to them. The question of sacredness of a chiefly is discussed in connection with the Chief and Chiefess.

The male first-born child was sacred beyond all other members of the family. Anything that came in contact with such a child had to be de-

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posited in a special sacred place. If a child were playing with something and dropped it, his mother would pick it up and carry it in her hair, her head being sacred, until she could deposit it in some restricted or *tapu* place.

Especially sacred was the head of the first-born male. The head of every person, whether man, woman, or child, was regarded as sacred. Vermin that were found in the hair must be eaten by the person whose hair they grew in and never by another. To pass anything over the head of a sacred person or to touch his or her head constituted a grave insult. Especially must nothing that had been associated with women pass above a sacred head. Hence great precautions were taken to prevent a child from getting under a house or from passing under a bed or chair. If a child had gone under a dwelling house, the house had to be burned down immediately. Such *tapu* applied to all children, though not so strictly as to a first-born. One must never step over a child in the Marquesas or allow it to go under a chair or other place where one is sitting. The great attention that is paid to these rules regarding children is based on the fact that, unlike adults, they are unable to safeguard themselves against insults to the sacredness that is embodied in their heads.

Elaborate precautions were taken by adults to protect their heads from insult during life. If by chance tobacco were passed over a man's head, he must smoke it immediately, and the ashes must be buried where women never walked. No one would leave anything that had touched the head where women might by chance walk over it. Hair cuttings were put in streams or in the sea, where they would be washed away, or else in a secred place where they would be protected. An interesting example of such precautions regarding the head is furnished in the matter of the purchase of tortoise-shell crowns. These crowns could not be purchased with land for the reason that they were worn on the head, which was sacred, whereas land was walked on by woman. In other words, the the head that wore the crown would be profaned if the land with which it was bought were trod upon by women.

In the careful preservation of skulls after death and their use in worship is illustrated the close association in belief of the sacredness we have been discussing and the ancestral cult. As the head embodied the sacredness of the ancestral line when a man was alive, so his skull embodied it after he was dead.

Chiefs and priests were in general sacred, especially on Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva. Their houses and their possessions were sacred, and special coconut trees and other things were restricted to their use. All things associated with sacred persons, places, or activities became sacred through

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this association. Thus all of the possessions of chiefs or priests were *tapu*. Likewise all the paraphernalia associated with the sacred place and with worship was *tapu*. (The *tapu* of sacred places is described under Sacred Places of Sepulture and under Sacred Precincts.)

Sacredness of Things

Colors were *tapu* in certain bays and on certain islands, apparently as a result of some priest having declared them sacred to his spirit before his death. (See 14, p. 53). All objects of that color were then *tapu*. The games of stilt-walking and javelin throwing, and the blowing of the conch shell, were forbidden to women.

The offering of first-fruits grew out of a *tapu* of sacredness. The removal of a *tapu* from a catch of fish which released the catch, making it free to be eaten by the people, was accomplished by offering a part of the catch to the gods—this offering of first fruits removed the *tapu* on the catch. Before eating a meal, natives always offered a little food to their ancestral spirits. In the story of Kae there is an account of hunting doves (*kuku*) in the mountains. The first dove killed by the men and women who were hunting was not eaten but was set aside, being *tapu*.

MAKING TAPU

It was in the power of the priest at the tribal temple to restrict, by making sacred, men, animals, houses, land, or any other thing. For example, if a man had a knife that he desired to be made sacred, he could take it to the priest at the temple who would consecrate it for him (19). Whether this was done by means of a ceremony or otherwise is unknown to me, but it seems probable that it was merely a matter of putting the object to be consecrated in contact with some sacred object, such as an image. Anything that had been cut with a knife, that had been made sacred in this way was *tapu*.

Similar to this manner of restricting persons or things by means of consecrating them was the practice of establishing ownership by giving a thing a sacred name. A man could *tapu* anything to himself either by calling it his head or by giving it a sacred name, that was his personal property. Closely related to this was the custom already mentioned by which inspirational priests sometimes declared certain things *tapu* at the time they died. One priest on the occasion of his detah on Uu Pou declared that long hair should be thereafter forbidden for the women of his tribe. Another priest on Nuku Hiva at his death declared that everything red, whether dress or food, was sacred to that priest's spirit and could not be worn or eaten by the common people.

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Kahui were temporary restrictions placed on foods by chiefs, supported by the religious power of the inspirational priest. Such periods of prohibition preceded or followed the great festivals. *Kahui* on a smaller scale were placed by chiefs or other proprietors of land on single plantations, groves, or sometimes on single trees. (See Property).

SEASONAL AND CEREMONIAL TAPU

Closely related to the *kahui* were seasonal *tapu* relating to foods. These differed from the *kahui* in being permanent prohibitions or restrictions. They were established laws, so to speak, and are to be distinguished from the occasional ordinances (*kahui*). Such a restriction was that which forbade fishing during the season when the breadfruit was maturing. (See Fishing.)

What may be called the ceremonial *tapu* amounted to the consecration of the whole tribe during tribal rites or tribal communal labor such as fishing. At such times all the usual activities of life were forbidden: work, the preparation of food, amusements, circulating about the valley, and the making of noise of any kind. According to Dordillon (9) the practices that were strictly forbidden at such times were anointing of the body with coconut oil or *ena*, the use of weapons, top spinning, laughing aloud, lifting the arms over the head, the wearing of colored cloth, eating breadfruit, and bathing. The conception at the basis of the ceremonial *tapu* seems to have been the belief that participation in any other activities on the part of members of the tribe at these times of communal consecration or devotion would interfere with the efficacy of a rite or work that required the whole attention of all the tribe. It may be said that at such times the tribe as a whole was placed under a spell of inactivity lest the work or rites being performed be interfered with. Long peeled poles of the *fau* tree, on the end of which were small flags of white cloth (*tipa*) were the signs of such ceremonial *tapu* at Pua Ma'u. Restricted areas which were devoted to ceremonial, public or private, were indicated elsewhere by means of the same signals.

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CONSECRATED ACTIVITY

Closely related to the ceremonial *tapu* in worship was that which governed all those devoted to the activities connected with any industry. The ceremonial *tapu* discussed above was merely an extension of this, a consecration of the whole tribe when activities of tribal worship were being performed. Only in fishing and war, so far as my information shows, did this consecration apply to the tribe as a whole. It is probable, however, that there was communal *tapu* at the time of other communal enterprises

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

such as harvesting. The consecration of workers has been discussed in connection with industries. In the main the object was to protect the workers and hence their work from evil or contaminating influences that might be brought in from outside. All evil influences must be excluded in order to insure the efficacy and successful accomplishment of the work. There was probably also the belief that other activities might conflict with or detract from the efficacy of the consecrated activity.

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH WOMEN

A woman's head was sacred (*tapu*) but her private parts and all connected with them were defiling. The *tapu* of uncleanness centered about woman as a reproducer. This apparently arises somewhat out of the sacredness of blood—the menstrual blood and blood at delivery. (Cp. the *tapu* on warriors after contact with blood—see War; also the *tapu* of youths after tattooing and incision of the foreskin—see Tattooing and also Rites of Childhood and Youth.) Particularly unclean was a woman at the time of her monthly flow. *Hava i te toto* was a phrase meaning contaminated on account of menstrual blood. A man could not smoke with a woman. [In some places the natives say that a woman could not smoke a man's pipe, but a man could smoke a woman's (9)]; the loin cloth worn by a woman during menstruation could be touched by no one but the woman herself; only a woman's husband could carry her dress or material destined to be used in a dress; a man could not shave a female's head, and vice versa; at the time of delivery, and until after purification by bathing, neither the woman nor the infant could be touched by any but female relatives.

TAPU ASSOCIATED WITH DEATH

In the *tapu* applying to all things connected with death was expressed the fear of the native of evil influences—associated always in his mind with evil spirits—which would bring about sickness and death of the body, and worse still, endanger the well-being of the soul itself. This *tapu* required the destruction of all things associated with a corpse, and the purification of all persons having to do with the dead. The restrictions on warriors, or others who had recently made a killing, belong in the same category. The *tapu* relating to such uncleanness protected that which was sacred from contamination through contact with or by passing beneath that which was unclean. The curse that resulted from defilement was leprosy.

May it not be that this is the basis of the rule that forbade a woman passing over anything sacred? Man was a living earthly embodiment of

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the procreating power, *papa una*, the level above, in creation. Woman embodied the *papa'ao*, the level below. A reversal of this order was the cause of evil. It would seem also that much of the fear of evil influences connected with womankind had to do with the belief of the association with women of evil spirits called *fanaua*. (See Spirits.)

The following are a number of rules illustrative of restrictions relating to uncleanness. A woman could not go on a sacred place reserved for consecrated rites or activities or for *tapu* men; no woman, except a high chiefess or priestess, must ever step on anything *tapu;* a woman must not touch a canoe for fishing or war; a woman could not pass over anyone, not even his feet—nor over household utensils, an oven, a place where water was obtained, a net, or a canoe; she could not bathe her feet in a household utensil; one woman must not put her hand (which was likely to be defiled) on the head of another, nor step over another, nor over the mat of another woman; a woman's and a man's food must be cooked on a different fire or in a different oven; it must be kept in a separate container; food could not be eaten by men in company with women; a woman could not eat *popoi* pounded by her husband, and vice versa.

FOOD RESTRICTIONS

Tapu, partly arbitrary, partly of religious origin, prohibited foods to certain classes. Some foods were forbidden to women—the chicken at all times, pig at certain times, octopus at some places, bananas, coconuts, and coconut milk. One informant stated that a woman could use coconut milk if eating alone, but that if her husband ate it with her, he would be killed in battle.

Other foods were restricted particularly to the priests and gods. The fish called *u'ua* seems to have been sacred everywhere and to have been eaten only by the temple priests and their assistants. At Taiohae in addition to the *u'ua*, the turtle and the fish called *hai* were always taken to the priests at the temple and were eaten by them. The head of the pig was everywhere sacred to the gods and was presented to the priests—if a man ate a pig's head, it was believed that he would be swamped in his canoe and drowned.

A long list of particular foods forbidden to different tribes throughout the group was obtained from the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) and will subsequently be published. These *tapu* foods were fish, birds, or animals that were consecrated to the god of the tribe. It does not appear that there was any conception of a god's being embodied in the sacred object, but rather that it was consecrated to the deity as food. Particular foods were sometimes *tapu* to all except one member of a family when that

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave*, and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putea*, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead.

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*, in which the men chanted the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted.

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou*, *fa'e pou*, *fa'e pu'e*, *faia'u* or *feiahu*, *oho au no motuhaiki*, and *ohu au no ihi*, all these terms except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*).

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai.

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menova*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[81]

[81] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

OTHER SACRED CHANTS

The Aumeha

539 952 [778] The *aumeha* was primarily a chant to consecrate a new-born child, being known also as the *pu'e na te ahu no te tama*, the *pu'e*, or generation chant, for the shrine of the child. When intoned for a child it was chanted at the family sacred place by the ceremonial priest, the child's father erected a shrine or altar for the occasion. An enclosure was made of peeled *fau* stakes decorated with white cloth; inside was set up a small staging (*fata'a*) which was decorated with *ata* (a sort of parasitic plant) and with strips of the white and of the red bark cloth used on ceremonial occasions. The rite was performed both for boys and girls. It is said still to be practiced sometimes at Pua Ma'u, where this material and information was secured. The same chant was also intoned over the dead body after the spirit had taken its departure. In form and content the *aumeha* resembles the *vavana* and the *pu'e*, although it is much shorter than either. It begins with references to the *take*, or "foundation" or "depths." Like the *pu'e* it mentions the growth of the land, and like the *vavana* the birth of the child. Reference to the origin of the successive ancient lands occupies the middle section of the chant. In this section come the lines:

> "When was the land born?
> Out of the womb of the coconut?"

Later two mythical coconuts are mentioned, the *niu-oa-i-Fiti* (long-coconut-at-Fiti), and the *niu-oa-ani* (long-sky coconut). My informants explained that this referred to two coconuts that played a part in the rite, one of them being used for making the food for the child, the other being "for the navel string" (?).

The Pope Chant

The *pope* was composed by a *tuhuna* in a house (*oho-au*) consecrated to that purpose upon the occasion of the building of the new dwelling for the sacred first born. It was sung by the male and female relatives of the child at the time of the feast which celebrated the first entrance of the relatives into the house. (See First-born.) The words of the example I have appear to be purely poetic, in other words, have no ceremonial significance. It is said, however, that there were sacred and [532] common *pope*. During the singing the arms and shoulders swung slightly from side to side, the hands clapping gently in the same movement.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends.

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space.

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards.

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took.

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[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

778 Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

501 Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make [321 of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with 324] large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

132 The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

231 They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

241 The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of [262] ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgement of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected. 648

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribe of Tieuhy.

CHAPTER XIV

Madison's Island.

THE hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men. 231 [232]

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootooa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them. 174 778 ● 773

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by 829

* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

In one of those excursions, I was led to the chief place of religious ceremony in the valley. It is situated high up the valley of the Havvous, and I regret extremely that I had it not in my power to make a correct drawing of it on the spot, as it far exceeds in splendour every thing of the kind described by Captain Cook, or represented in the plates which accompany his voyage. In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and toa-trees (the tree of which the spears and war clubs are made) and a variety of other trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone, about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way. It is in a squatting posture, and not badly executed. His ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small; and, on the whole, is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the bread-fruit tree. They are not more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model. Probably they are copies, and the stone god may serve as a model of perfection for all the sculptures of the island, as their household gods, their ornaments for the handles of their fans, their stilts, and, in fact every representation of the figure of a man is made on the same plan. To the right and left of those gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoa-nut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth, which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises, as I was informed, as offerings to their gods. On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral shells, &c. with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country. 770 ● 532

I believe, from what I have seen and learnt of these people, that their religion is the same as that of the Society and Sandwich Islands; a religion that not only perplexed Captain Cook, but all the learned men who accompanied him, and as may be naturally supposed, has greatly perplexed me. Their priests are their oracles; they are considered but little inferior to their gods; 771

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

concerning the customs and manners of the country, and found that she felt her consequence in its full extent. 1804. May.

Having distributed scissars, knives, looking-glasses, and other trifles amongst this royal group, we departed, to proceed to the house of our interpreter, and were introduced, on the way, to the king's grand-child, who is respected as a divinity by the islanders. The infant was exhibited by his uncle, who stood within the inclosure of the house. I expressed a desire that his little highness might be brought to me; but understanding that he was under the law of taboo, which would not permit him to leave the inclosure, I approached him, and presented him with a piece of white cloth. The royal family had accompanied us to this place, as well as the multitude; but of the latter, no one dared to pass within the prohibited boundary.

Our walk to the habitation of Roberts was extremely pleasant, as it extended along an eminence, from whence we had a beautiful view of our ships in the bay, and the plantations of the natives in the valleys. Though the house was not so large as many we had passed, it was well adorned on the outside with different kinds of fruit-trees, which afforded us, after our fatigue, a very acceptable repast. Being refreshed, we visited a burying-ground, which, I must confess, was by no means equal to my expectation. It contained but a few wooden statues, rudely carved, while cocoa-nut shells were strewed in such abundance on the ground, that we were greatly incommoded by them. Roberts informed us, that sacrifices to the dead consisted here of cocoa-nuts; and I observed one quite fresh, on the head of a statue, that was erected over a grave. I observed also the

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

is the poorest, about the middle of June; and the third, about September. From the bark a sort of thick brown cloth is made, which is sometimes dyed yellow. 1804. May. [287]

Toomoochee, or Cocoa-nut-tree: too well known in Europe, to require a description.

Maeeca, or Plantains. There are many sorts of this tree here; the fruit of some of which is nine inches long, and seven and a half round.

Toomooishee. A kind of Chestnut-tree, that bears fruit in the months of May and November.

Timanoo. A firm strong tree, growing sometimes to nine feet in circumference. It is only used for building war-canoes, and is forbidden to be cut for any other purpose.

Toomoomyee. Of this tree the common canoes are made.

Kenai. A soft tree, used for small canoes, and other unimportant works: it takes root as easily as our willow.

Pooadea. This is the largest tree on the island. Its trunk, I was told, measures in some instances thirty feet in circumference: the branches, which are only allowed to be cut for religious ceremonies, spread wide, and are well adapted to give shade to burying-grounds. [278]

Cogoo. This tree is used for fire-wood. It bears a black

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 333 the *paepae*, and then the house floor was walled and filled until level with their tops. Whether the placing of the *ke'etu* took place before or after the paving of the front part of the *paepae*, could not be ascertained. Finally the surface of both parts of the *paepae*, with the exception of the bed space of the house, was paved with flat water-worn stones, those of the house floor being smaller and more carefully selected. Holes for the accommodation of the front posts of the house were frequently left along the front edge of the floor.

342 A curious feature not observed at the present time, is mentioned by Petit-Thouars (48, p. 345) in his description of a chief's house on the island of Tahu Ata. He says, "At either end of the single apartment which forms the house there is a part of the pavement raised about thirty-five centimeters above the rest. These two platforms appear to be more exclusively reserved for the king."

352 One or two stone back rests were a rather common feature of dwelling *paepae* in Hiva Oa. These back rests were simple slabs, usually undressed, set into the pavement of the veranda section and sloping at an angle of about 45 degrees. They were commonly placed at either end of the *paepae* and so arranged that the occupant sat with his side toward the house. One interesting back rest of this sort, of recent construction, was carved from the top of a large stone set in the last course of the *paepae* wall (Pl. XL, *a*, *b*). These objects appear to have been simply a primitive form of easy chair, with no religious or ceremonial significance, but it should be noted that similar back rests were occasionally placed within the bed spaces of houses within the precincts of the *me'ae* of Hiva Oa. When they were arranged in this position they were placed against the back of the house, sloping inward, so that the occupant faced the front of the house. A few stone back rests were observed in Nuku Hiva and Ua Huku but they were uncommon there.

342 In the paved space before the house, many large Nuku Hivan *paepae* have a rectangular pit running down to the original ground level. These pits are lined with stones throughout and were certainly built at the same time as the *paepae*. [784] Two explanations of these pits were given by informants: That they were repositories into which objects that had become tapu were thrown and that they [778] were larders or small *ma* pits. It seems unlikely that they were used as *ma* pits, however, as *ma* can only be preserved properly in pits dug in compact clay soil. Several old informants claimed that they had seen objects which had become tapu through touching the head of the oldest son thrown into such platform pits. In the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, a pit of this sort had been used as a burial place for the owner's family, which had been wiped out by an epidemic. The house was afterward burned and the place declared tapu. Similar pits are a constant feature of the simplest form of *me'ae* in Nuku Hiva, but the majority of the *paepae*

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 but their absence in Western Polynesia is of great interest and would seem to in-
171 dicate a well marked difference in culture.

If we exclude the curious stirrup pounders from Kaual in the Hawaiian islands and the New Zealand fern root pounders, we find a general similarity among Polynesian implements of this class. There are many minor differences in shape, permitting of the creation of a great number of subtypes, but the major differences appear in the finishing of the upper end or head. On the basis of these differences in head form we may divide the pounders into four types: domed, flat, phallic and transversed gripped. The domed form is characteristic of most Hawaiian pounders and seems to be limited to that group. The flat form appears as a minor type in the Marquesas and possibly in Hawaii, but is lacking elsewhere in Polynesia. It is normal in Micronesia, however. The phallic type is limited to the Marquesas. The transverse grip type is normal throughout Southeastern Polynesia, where it shows many local variations, and occurs as a very rare form in the Marquesas.

The normal Marquesan pounders resemble those from the Society Islands more closely in the form of the base, body and grip than they do those from Hawaii, but their phallic heads are more nearly related to the Hawaiian domed than the Southeastern transverse grip type.

STONE FIGURES

532 The Marquesans excelled all other Polynesians in the manufacture of stone figures. Although none of their carvings equalled the great Easter Island statues in size, they ranged from large figures over eight feet high to little statuettes scarcely six inches tall. Between these extremes there were all gradations in size. For the sake of convenience the statues will be divided into those which were intended to be permanently set up and those which were portable, only the portable one being considered here. A single object of uncertain significance, which does not belong in either of these classes, will also be described.

532 A number of small stone figures of fish were used in the *me'ae* of the fish-
● 778 ermen. These figures were used one at a time and those not in use were buried within the precincts. The figure in use was placed upon an altar within the main house and was kept there as long as the catches were good. If the luck changed it was removed and replaced by another. According to a different account, which could not be correlated with the above, the small fish figures were the property of ordinary individuals. When the owner went fishing he took the image with him and threw it into the sea, and so great was its mana that on his return he would find it again at a given place, to which it had supernaturally returned.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

None of these fish figures were obtained by the expedition and they are rare in collections. Those seen were for the most part of cylindrical or flat oval form, poorly finished and having incised upon one end a rude representation of a fish's head. In one specimen the only feature indicated was the curve of the gill cover. A single very fine specimen in the collection of M. George La Garde of Tahiti has a flat base and high back which slopes upward almost to a point. It is highly polished all over, and bears upon one end a carved head of human or semi-human type.

The small human figures were of two types, single and double. They were used in healing the sick, and also as real votive offerings. They were made by special *tuhuna*, and were carried to the *me'ae* of the god invoked and there left by persons desiring success in any enterprise. (Handy, personal correspondence.)

The single figures show more or less variation, but all appear to fall between the extremes represented by two specimens in the Bishop Museum's collections. Plate LV, *A* shows a short squat figure having a large head with a projecting jaw.

The features are like those of the heads of tiki headed *popoi* pounders of normal type except that the ears are represented as simple knobs. The head is set directly on the shoulders, and the bottom of the jaw is some distance below the level of the top of the shoulders. The arms are thin and unmodeled with short upper and long lower parts, and are shown flexed, with the hands resting upon either side of the body in front. The space between the upper arm and the body is pierced, while the lower arm is carved in high relief and the hand in low relief. The fingers are barely indicated. The back of the figure is concave with a well marked ridge across the shoulders. The breast slopes outward and downward from the head to the level of the hands, and the stomach, between the hands, is shown as a rounded protuberance. The legs are short and are shown in a flexed position, the upper edge of the thighs being parallel to the forearms. The thighs are thin and the buttocks project in the rear as a flange. The lower leg is very heavy, and is separated from the thigh by a horizontal groove which runs across the back and around to the middle of the outer side of either leg. The space between the legs is pierced nearly to the level of the knee. The lower leg tapers slightly toward the foot, which is represented by a thin flange, longest in front. In the middle of the side just above this flange, there is a small knob, probably representing the ankle bone. The sex of this figure is not indicated. A raised band, running from the back of the head to the middle of the shoulders, is pierced with a transverse hole which probably served for the attachment of a cord. The dimensions are: height, 7 inches; maximum width, 4 inches; shoulder width, 3 inches; length of head, 2½ inches; width of head, 2½ inches. The whole surface appears originally to have been polished, even the bottoms of the deepest cuts being rubbed smooth.

It is evident that the maker of this figure possessed remarkable technical skill, and its grotesque proportions can only be explained by the assumption that he was not attempting to represent an actual human being, but to reproduce an established convention. The majority of the small stone figures agree more closely with this specimen, especially in facial type, than with the one about to be described.

7: Linton ~E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS

There are a number of Marquesan objects which probably had a religious or ceremonial significance. The most interesting of these is a tapa covered object hewn from a single piece of breadfruit wood (Pl. LXXXIV, *A*) which is listed in the Bishop Museum catalog as an idol.

The lower part or body is in the form of a thin flat tablet. The upper part, or head, juts out sharply from the body in front and protrudes slightly beyond it in the rear. The two sides of the face are slightly concave, meeting in a sharp longitudinal keel. The interior of the head has been roughly hollowed out from the rear, probably to reduce the weight of the object. Two short double pointed sticks of fau wood, only one of which is now in position, were fastened to the back of the head transversely. They were attached with sennit cords which passed through holes in the edges of the object. The body, and the front, top and sides of the head, are covered with ute tapa, which was evidently put on while moist. The back of the head does not seem to have been covered. The tapa is gathered in a knot on the top of the head, and is glued together on the back of the body so skillfully that the joining is hard to detect. The whole object, exclusive of the back of the head, is covered with designs painted in red and black. It is evident that the designs upon the front of the head are intended to represent two large eyes, while bands along the lower edge of the head and on the upper part of the body represent the upper and lower jaws of an open mouth. The spaces around the eyes and inside the mouth, and the front and back of the body, are filled with decorative designs most of which seem to be tattoo designs. The painting was evidently done free hand, and shows considerable skill.

The rough finish of the back of the head in this figure suggests that it was formerly attached to some object in such a way that this part was concealed, but the body of the figure is painted on both sides. Although we have no information as to the use of such figures, it seems possible that they were attached to the beams of houses in *me'ae*, the back of the head resting against the beam and the body hanging below it. Tapa covered bird effigies, painted red, were placed on the ridge pole of the tall pyramidal sacred house at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa.

The use of effigies covered with painted tapa in the Marquesas brings to mind the similar Easter Island practice. The figures from the two localities have little more than the principle in common, but in view of the complete absence of such figures elsewhere in Polynesia even this is significant. They are not recorded from Micronesia, and even in Melanesia we find no close parallels, except in New Britain where the Baining are said to make huge tapa covered figures thirty feet high (Lewis).

Small wooden figures were probably made by the Marquesans in ancient times, although the few examples known seem to be post-European. There is no definite information as to their use, but they may have been employed for the same purpose as the small stone figures. (See p. 345.) Plate LXXXIV, *B*, shows a modern wooden figure which is interesting chiefly as an example of the breaking down of the old artistic convention under European influence. The proportions of the body and legs, and the modeling of the legs, are much more naturalistic than in the old stone figures. The arms on the other hand, are smaller in proportion to the figure than those of the old statuettes. The head is more nearly in

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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proportion to the body and although the old convention is retained for the features, the eyes are smaller and more elongated. It is interesting to note that many of the modern stone figures, which are purely commercial, show the same changes in convention. Those which do not exhibit this modified convention are crudely naturalistic, and no wooden specimen was seen in which the ancient convention has been accurately reproduced.

A curious double statuette, now in the possession of Mme. Mallius of Ta'aoa, Hiva Oa, is shown on Plate LXXXIV, *C*. It is made of *toa* wood, and has been stained black, apparently by the process used in coloring war clubs. This would indicate a considerable age, although the carving appears to have been done with metal tools. The lengthened leg and disproportionately shortened arm of the degenerate convention are present, but the faces are surprisingly naturalistic. The two figures, which are male and female, were originally joined together at the back, as in practically all Marquesan double figures.

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IMAGES AND STRING; RELIGION. *A*, TAPA COVERED FIGURE—FRONT, SIDE AND REAR VIEWS; *B*, WOODEN FIGURE—FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *C*, SMALL DOUBLE STATUETTE OF TIKI WOOD (COURTESY OF MISS. MALLTON); *D*, GENEALOGICAL STRING RECORD (COURTESY OF M. GEORGE LA GARDE); *E*, STRING RECORD USED IN THE RECITATION OF CHANTS.

[end plate 45]

Yale Library E-3 (1920-1921) 1923 Oils Marquesas OX6

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Chants for women do not seem to be general. At some time during the operation, the *opou* was given a new name, referred to as *patiki*. This was taken from some personal defect of his own, such as a blind eye, for example, or from some imaginary peculiarity of the genital organs of his father or mother.

The operation, as may be imagined, was extremely painful and the patient cried and screamed without restraint. Berchon notes that after each sitting, there were from eight to twelve days of local inflammation, followed by fever and sometimes swellings, which were at times fatal. Light inflammation and swelling and ulcers lasting for several days (6, p. 132; 11, p. 110; 10, p. 118) seem to have been usually the most serious results of the rigorous treatment. The juice of the banana stem was used as an ointment *(paku)* to hasten healing. Berchon says an emollient of hibiscus leaves was applied to relieve the inflammation.

The duration of the operation depended largely upon the fortitude and health of the patient. A Nuku Hiva man is reported to have been completely covered in three days; the legs and back of one man of Hanamenu were done in seven days; but as a rule the designs were put on in more leisurely fashion, a section of the body being covered at a sitting, with three-day rest periods called days of blood *(a toto)* after each, so that the operation covered from two weeks to four months. Under such conditions a woman's lips and shoulder might be decorated in a day, a man's legs from knees to ankles, or perhaps his thighs and buttocks. Langsdorff says that the first sitting usually lasted from three to four weeks and that only the groundwork of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, was laid the first year, additions, however, being made for years at intervals of from three to six months.

After the operation, fruits of noni *(Morinda citrofolia)* the most usual healing agent, were offered at the *me'ae* or sacred place; the *tuhuna* was paid; and, when the *tapu* was lifted, the sacred *oho'au tiki* was burned (though not the common house of women); and all those participating in the operation, who had not been allowed to bathe during the entire time, now went first to the sea to bathe, afterwards to the river. This accomplished, they covered themselves with fragrant ointment, which turned the skin yellow so that their new patterns showed brilliantly. Meanwhile, relatives had prepared such ornaments as tortoise-shell crowns, girdles of tapa, feather head ornaments, earrings, and the like. These they left outside their houses on the night before the festival *(Ko'ina tuhi tiki; Ko'ina*, feast; *tuhi*, show; *tiki*, design), which was always given to celebrate the completion of the work, and the newly decorated girls and boys donned them before their appearance on the paved floor of the

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

house posts (Pl. III, *d*). A third design, found on a drum, is a series of concentric diamonds which also is a common house post design. Undoubtedly other forms of ornamental lashings were used but information concerning them is no longer available.

CARVINGS IN THE ROUND AND IN HIGH RELIEF

The only figures carved in the round or in high relief by the Marquesans are representations of human beings. Large figures are carved in wood and stone; small figures in wood, stone, bone or ivory. Most of the large figures set up in the sacred places to represent gods are carved in the full round. Stone figures carved in the half-round or three-quarters round are set into the facing of stone walls of house platforms and sacred places; wooden figures carved in the full round are used as posts to support the roofs of dwellings. Small figures carved in human bone are used to ornament the handles of many coconut bowls and are used also as ear ornaments. Some ear ornaments are made of whale bone and whale tooth. Wooden staves surmounted by small human figures carved in the full round have been seen, and a number of objects such as fan handles, canoe paddles, war clubs and *popoi* pounders, display human figures carved in high relief.

The convention employed for the figures is that of the tiki. In most of the carvings the head of the tiki is disproportionately large and has as its most prominent feature round or pointed oval spectacle eyes with a high ridge through the center terminating in the ears and the nose. Supra-orbital ridges are generally indicated and these likewise terminate in the ears which on the small figures are usually represented by two connected spirals turned toward each other. On a few specimens only single spirals are seen and on larger figures a projecting longitudinal flange replaces the spiral. The nose is shown in different lengths but is always broad and flat. The mouth is very large and is always open, showing the tongue.

The bone ornaments on the handles of coconut bowls show only the upper half of the body. Below the characteristic head the arms are shown at the sides of the body with the hands resting on the stomach. In one tiki figure the left hand touches the chin and in another the right arm rests on the right shoulder. Some tikis have five fingers on each hand; others have only three or four.

In the portrayal of the complete tiki figure the legs are shown in a semi-squat or flexed position. In figures carved in the full round, the feet are indicated but not the toes; two dolls which do show the toes were probably recently made. The figures are pierced between the legs so as to make them appear as naturalistic as possible. The sex is usually indicated

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His importance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head of a household achieved in the next world was directly dependent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human captive.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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entire rear half of the houses, which were often fifty or sixty feet long, was given up to the beds. The bed had a foundation of springy brush, cocoanut fronds, ferns, and layers of grass, on top of which were placed woven mats. A polished cocoanut log running the entire length of the house served as a pillow. These beds were softer than many European beds, and the natives loafed on them when they had nothing else to do. They also built sloping back-rests on the stone house platforms so that they could sit there in comfort and watch everything that went on up and down the street. Clothing was unnecessary in this climate, but the Marquesans made elaborate ornaments for festival wear.

An ambitious, skillful man could use the leisure periods between harvests to create a surplus through craftsmanship or pig tending. However, if one was not ambitious, one could spend his leisure time loafing, singing, playing musical instruments or games, and, even to a considerable degree, in sexual play.

Attitude toward Objects

There was an amazing degree of individualization of objects among the Marquesans, everything being personified. Just as each individual was a distinct entity in his tribe, so every axe or food bowl or canoe was also a distinct entity and had a name. The same names were given to objects as to people, the names for weapons being taken from ancestral names of the owner's family. All canoes were given names, and a house not only went through the process of creation, but was hung with a loin cloth so that it would be decently clad when occupied.

It is difficult to say just how much the natives actually believed in this personification of objects. A properly made object achieved greater prestige value with use. A club which had killed three or four men had a tremendous amount of *mana;* the more *mana,* the greater the distinction of the weapon. The people had a sense for heirlooms; old objects which had been handed down had more value than new ones, even though the new ones boasted finer carving.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated, it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve different members being named, the most honorable names being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such exchanges the personality of each participant was fused with that of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with which a man was killed might also be given the name of the victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*, or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa* with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in the same relation to his relatives as he did.

Social Organization

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members traced connection with an original ancestor, either through actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters, were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

619 344 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga,* and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

619 778 [782 769] The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

592 595 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usually two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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343 784 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house. [769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects. [531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 428 611 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 611 [773] The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the [554] adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father administered the household group until the child reached matur-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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764 the southern islands, the process was carried on right in the house, with the daily life of the family going on around the corpse, which lay upon a bier. The family would carry the body out into the sun and rub it down with oil, then carry it back into the house when the sun went down. When mummification was fairly complete, they dressed the body in its best clothes and seated it in a squatting position with the arms crossed and the chin on the knees. They held it in place with wooden supports and kept it sitting so in the most honored section of the house until after the memorial ceremony. The remains, usually in a fairly disreputable condition by this time, were then taken to the shrine of the tribal gods and turned over to the ceremonial priests for final disposition. No one but the priests knew what really became of these bodies. An old man who had been an assistant to a ceremonial priest told me that he had helped to carry the bodies away but was never permitted to be present at the final disposal. The heads were often removed and saved, and also a few of the long bones would be selected to be worked up into ornaments for relatives of the deceased as pleasant mementos.

769 The skulls of the chiefs were kept in the temple and brought out from time to time to adorn the prows of the war canoes to
● 778 give them *mana,* or were exposed in the fishing house to aid in bringing a favorable catch. Skulls of family heads were returned to the household, where they were kept in the family shrine—either a small house outside, associated with the death house, or a curtained-off end of the dwelling with shelves. Sometimes faces of bark cloth were built upon the skulls and painted with the personal tattooing of the individual.

778 Each tribe had one or more sacred places hidden far back
784 in the hills. These places were taboo to most men and to all
152 but the few highest ranking women of the tribe. The power of this taboo was demonstrated to me by a strange experience. A man of about fifty-two or three had volunteered to take me to one of these sacred places, the central shrine for one of the two big divisions of the tribes on the island of Hiva Oa. The man

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspirational priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the inspirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

/87 cont./ 114
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support 165
whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867.

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable 114
disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which 162
Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females.

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth 844
(Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the 182
survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth [343]
house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use.

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil [776]
spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth [753]
or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and [778] ●
whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion [776]
and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua [849]
Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield.